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ACTION AF-01

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|------|--------|---------|---------|-------------|---------|--------|---------|
| INFO | LOG-00 | ACDA-15 | AID-01 | AMAD-01 | CIAE-00 | C-01 | DODE-00 |
| | EB-01 | EUR-01 | HA-09 | H-01 | INRE-00 | INR-01 | L-03 |
| | ADS-00 | NSAE-00 | NSCE-00 | OMB-01 | PA-01 | PM-01 | PRS-01 |
| | P-01 | RP-10 | SNP-01 | SP-01 | SSO-00 | SS-01 | TRSE-00 |
| | T-01 | USIE-00 | DTC-01 | /055W | | | |
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O 191141Z JUN 92
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0990
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 02520

PARIS FOR A/S COHEN

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, MASS, RW
SUBJECT: RWANDAN PLEA FOR HELP

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA AND PRIME MINISTER
NSENGIYAREMYE REQUESTED ADDITIONAL U.S. DIPLOMATIC
INTERVENTION WITH UGANDA TO PRESS THE RPF TO
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NEGOTIATE RATHER THAN CONTINUE TO ATTACK. THEY
BELIEVE PERSONNEL DEMOBILIZED FROM THE NRA ARE MOVING
DIRECTLY INTO THE RPF RANKS. THE PRESIDENT ALSO
ASKED FOR MATERIAL ASSISTANCE. END SUMMARY.

3. IN AN UNUSUAL DISPLAY OF UNITY, THE PRESIDENT AND
PRIME MINISTER JOINTLY SUMMONED ME ON SHORT NOTICE
THIS MORNING TO THE PRESIDENCY. THE ONLY OTHER
PERSON PRESENT WAS CHEF DU CABINET RUHIGIRA. THE
PRESIDENT SPOKE FIRST, AND THE PRIME MINISTER
STEADFASTLY SUPPORTED HIM.

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THE WAR CONTINUES

4. THE PRESIDENT MENTIONED THE CONTINUING ATTACKS ALL ALONG THE FRONTIER, REPEATING HIS CONTINUING BELIEF THAT THE RPF BENEFITS FROM MAJOR NRA LOGISTICAL SUPPORT AND SUPPLY. HE SAID THERE WAS AN URGENT NEED TO BRING THE FIGHTING TO AN END SO THAT NEGOTIATIONS CAN ACTUALLY TAKE PLACE.

THE WAR AND DEMOCRACY

5. THE PRESIDENT SAID THE CONTINUATION OF THE WAR PUTS THE WHOLE PROCESS OF DEMOCRACY IN SOME DANGER. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT RWANDA HAS MADE A LOT OF PROGRESS, PERHAPS MORE THAN MANY OTHER COUNTRIES IN AFRICA, AND THAT HE PERSONALLY DOES NOT WISH TO ABANDON THIS PROCESS BUT RATHER WISHES TO CONTINUE IT.

6. THE PRIME MINISTER IN HIS FOLLOW-UP SAID THAT IN
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SPITE OF THE WAR RWANDA HAS BECOME WELL ENGAGED IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. HE ADMITTED THAT THERE WERE SOME WHO WOULD HAVE THE PROCESS MOVE MORE QUICKLY AND OTHERS WHO WOULD SLOW IT DOWN, BUT THE BASIC POLITICAL COMMITMENT OF RWANDANS IS TO CARRY THIS DEMOCRACY PROCESS THROUGH TO THE END. HE AGREED WITH THE PRESIDENT THAT THE CONTINUATION OF THE WAR PUTS THE PROCESS IN DANGER, BUT HE SAID RWANDA MUST CONTINUE WITH THE HELP OF ITS FRIENDS.

MILITARY ASSISTANCE

7. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN OVER 15 MONTHS, THE PRESIDENT MADE A REQUEST FOR U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE. HE SAID THAT RWANDA MUST RECRUIT MORE TROOPS AND PROVIDE THEM WITH AMMUNITION AND SUPPLIES IF THEY ARE GOING TO PROTECT THE LONG FRONTIER FROM THE NOW SERIOUSLY EXPANDED RPF FORCES. (COMMENT: ONE OF THE POLITICAL PARTY LEADERS TOLD ME TODAY THAT, ALTHOUGH THEY HAD RECRUITED UP TO 30,000 TROOPS, THE EFFECTIVE RWANDAN FORCE NOW WAS DOWN TO 10,000. THIS HAS RESULTED FROM CASUALTIES AND DESERTIONS. IF THE REALITY OF THE PROBLEM IS ANYWHERE NEAR AS SERIOUS THIS, THE PRESIDENT IS

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ABSOLUTLY RIGHT THAT HE WILL NEED ADDITIONAL
RECRUITMENT, AND THEREFORE ADDITIONAL BOOTS, UNIFORMS
AND WEAPONS. END COMMENT).

8. I TOLD THE PRESIDENT THAT I SAW NO HOPE OF BEING
ABLE TO DELIVER MILITARY EQUIPMENT FOR RWANDA. I
SAID THAT WE HAVE VIRTUALLY NO MILITARY FUNDING FOR
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AFRICA, AND LEGISLATION SEVERLY LIMITING WHAT WE CAN
DO EVEN WITH THE PITTANCE AVAILABLE. I SAID WE
WANTED TO CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE NEGOTIATIONS AND
THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS THROUGH DIPLOMATIC MEANS AND
CONTINUING ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, BUT COULD NOT EXPECT
TO PROVIDE MILITARY HELP. NEVERTHELESS, I PROMISED
TO REPORT HIS REQUEST.

CONFLICT RESOLUTION

9. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT IN HIS VIEW THE KEY
PROBLEM IN AFRICA WHICH IS HOLDING BACK THE

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DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS THE EXISTENCE OF POLITICAL INSTABILITY AND CIVIL WARS, SUCH AS ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE, SOMALIA, ETHIOPIA, AND OF COURSE THE PROBLEMS IN BURUNDI, ZAIRE, UGANDA AND RWANDA. HE SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO THINK THAT THE WESTERN POWERS WOULD BE ABLE TO HELP IN RESOLVING THESE CONFLICTS SO THAT REAL DEVELOPMENT COULD TAKE PLACE. I SAID WE WERE HAVING DISCUSSIONS WITHIN THE
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U.S. GOVERNMENT ON THIS VERY SUBJECT, AND HOPE TO BE ABLE TO CONTINUE AND EXPAND OUR EFFORTS TO SECURE WHAT WE SEE AS OUR INTEREST IN THE CREATION OF PEACE AND STABILITY IN AFRICA.

COMMENT

10. PRESIDENT HABYARIMAN AND HIS COALITION GOVERNMENT HAVE INVESTED A GREAT DEAL OF HOPE IN THE ASSURANCES GIVEN TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN BY THE UGANDANS AND THE RPF. SINCE IT APPEARS TO THEM THAT THESE ASSURANCES HAVE BEEN VIOLATED, THEY WANT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND ESPECIALLY ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN TO CALL THE GOU AND THE RPF ON THEIR FAILURE TO LIVE UP TO THEIR PROMISES.

11. THERE WAS A SENSE OF ADDITIONAL URGENCY IN HABYARIMANA'S REQUEST THIS TIME COMPARED WITH PAST REQUESTS FOR U.S. HELP. I GOT THE IMPRESSION THAT HE FEELS THIS TIME HE MAY HAVE AN UNCONTROLLABLE MILITARY CONFRONTATION ON HIS HANDS, AT A TIME WHEN HIS TROOPS ARE BOTH DEPLETED AND DEMORALIZED.

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12. THE APPARENT SOLIDARITY BETWEEN THE TWO LEADERS
IS ENCOURAGING. THE EMPHASIS THAT BOTH PUT ON ENDING
THE WAR BY NEGOTIATION TAKES ON ADDED SIGNIFICANCE AS
THE MILITARY SITUATION DETERIORATES. END COMMENT.
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